2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

538 skilled speakers as well as dancers and singers, while women are ex-
462 pected to be responders, doing the clapping and rhetorical backup. Though some women do tell tales, they most often do so in the privacy of their homes when the men are away. Likewise, the Igbo, Yoruba, [171] and Ibebio women seldom tell tales in the company of men, although alone, or in the company of other women and children, some of the Sea Island and African women are avid storytellers.

538 On occasions when a storytelling contest was held at the community store during my stays on the islands, many women came to hear the stories, though few of them actually told tales themselves. Miss Myma, the elderly Sea Island lady with whom I resided and who accompanied me to most preplanned telling sessions, always told the first tale, but more in an effort to sanction and add approval to the occasion than as a traditional practice. Several women with whom I had spent time over a seven-year period came to the storytelling contest but bluntly refused to tell any stories. After the session ended and the men
538 were awarded the prizes by the island judges, these women approached
123 me and asked that I come by their homes the following day. I did so and was told many tales, as well as given many folk remedies, cures, and songs. One lady, highly respected in the community, permitted me to hold two storytelling contests at her home. However, she refused to come outside to listen to the tales because the audience was comprised primarily of men. I learned that women are not expected to participate [562] in activities that are considered primarily male-oriented activities. Within the Sea Islands as well as within certain African communities, only women who are elderly or held in fairly high social esteem can participate in such activities without fear of censure.

538 Most of the tales told by women and elderly men are told during
461 the daylight hours just after lunch when they take a break from the daily chores just to "catch some breeze" or "sit in the cool." One elderly gentleman, nearly one hundred years old now, often entertained me for hours with tales, historical events, and reminiscences before he resumed his afternoon plowing with his favorite mule. This man is
592 particularly interesting because he firmly believes that a man should
593 live apart from his wife and family. Until his wife's death very recently, she lived in a fairly large, modern dwelling with her children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren while he lived in his shanty located behind the main house and near the other homes within his yard area. His wife prepared his meals and brought them to him at

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

had often been hospitalized for short periods for her condition. She finally lost the battle or, as some islanders said, she finally won the battle, staked her sword in the golden sand, and went home to the Kingdom of God on 4 July 1984. Mr. Hampy was told, and he died the next day, 5 July. Some said that the couple had been together so long that his spirit had become a part of hers and that when she died, he died simply because he lacked the will to live without her. Others commented that since her body remained warm so long after her death, she was waiting for him to follow.

Their funeral was one of the most elaborate I have seen in the Sea Island area. The cost was well in excess of fifteen thousand dollars, a total which the couple had prepared for over the years by paying on their funeral policy. They had matching blue caskets with intricate gold designs. Hers was covered with a spread of pink flowers, his with a spread of blue ones. The undertaker was careful with such details as having her coffin brought in first and stationing her coffin to the left of his. These were things that the viewers would observe and remember when they selected someone to handle their own funeral arrangements.

The Presbyterian church was packed beyond capacity, and I stood outside the door of the church along with other friends hoping to see the couple one last time. Two male associates had accompanied me to the funeral and stood among the other men on the church ground, chatting. As a female, I knew that I was not permitted this liberty. Women do not stand outside the church and chat when services are going on. If they cannot get inside the church, they stand as close to it as possible or remain in their cars. In a break with custom, the caskets were not opened for viewing the bodies; I walked with others more than two miles up a long, narrow, muddy lane to the gravesite, still hoping to see their faces. However, before I made it up the lane, they had passed the younger children over the caskets to prevent their spirits from being "touched" by the spirits of the dead. As is traditional, they buried Mr. Hampy and Miss Maime side by side, she on his left, in a densely wooded area to help enclose their spirits. Each grave was covered with flowers and clocks were set at the time each one died.

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina.
Georgetown

statistical evidence, participant-observation in the community which confirms these findings, and from the close family relationships which obtain between several of the speakers represented in Table 6, who nevertheless show striking differences in language use.

In the mainland community, older men use more standard forms than older women--a finding which differs from that of previous studies of sex differences, except Fasold's study of the black working class in Washington, D. C. For the island community, women generally use more standard forms than men in all three age groups, although speakers in the oldest age group show very little difference in the use of creole and nonstandard forms. Women in this group use 31 percent creole and nonstandard variants in 145 possible occurrences, while men use 37 percent of 240. The heaviest users of standard forms are middle aged women in the island community.

I suggest that sex differences in language used by the two communities are more directly related to occupational opportunities than to sex roles as such. The occupational choices are limited by the factor of sex, to be sure, but the sex of speaker affects language choice only indirectly, in my analysis of the social factors influencing language choice. In rural South Carolina, the occupations open to black women have been extremely limited until very recently. While the vast majority of black women in this

562 463 region hold jobs outside the home (see U. S. Census Bureau figures, 1973), the major jobs held by them have been teacher or nurse on the professional level and domestic servant or farm laborer at the non-skilled level. Up until the past decade or two, segregation practices kept black women out of most factory jobs and clerical positions. Figures from the [197] 1970 census show that now two of the top five jobs held by black women in rural South Carolina are at the professional level and require use of a standard variety of English daily. [465] Because salary levels for black women are so low (less than half the median salary for black men in the region), and because almost all of them work at some point in their lives, the incentive to prepare for the higher-paying professional jobs available to them is great. Some anecdotal evidence 562 873 463 464 indicates the strength of this incentive for island young people. In one older family, the women had attended college for four generations; men were skilled construction workers with no college education. One man in this family had financed the college educations of two sisters, working as a skilled craftsman himself. When questioned about why no young men from the island attended college, one young man replied that it made no sense unless he were to study for something "big," like a doctor; laying brick he could make more money than a woman teaching school could make. Occu- 464 562 197 463 pational choices for black men who remain in rural South Carolina are limited chiefly to jobs which require little or

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

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no use of standard English and which entail little interaction with a diverse public. The top five jobs held by black men in the region are blue collar and require few language-related tasks. Jobs held by island men and by mainland men of the lower socio-economic group are roughly similar blue collar laboring jobs. Those held by mainland men may require fewer skills than the construction jobs held by island men, but none entail daily use of a standard variety of English to any great extent. Mainland and island women, however, have had strikingly different employment patterns and educational opportunities. Mainland women in the group studied have been confined to domestic service or field labor with a limited number of employers. One of these women had lived on a single plantation all of her eighty years, working for one family most of that time. She had had no formal education and could neither read nor write. [212] No woman born on the island was illiterate. Domestic jobs held by island women were varied, ranging from jobs in resort motels to work for middle-class families in mainland communities. Women who had become teachers had moved off the island to be nearer their jobs in mainland schools. In the [177] middle aged and younger group of women from the island, some had obtained jobs as clerks in mainland stores in the past decade and interacted daily with the diverse tourist population which visits coastal South Carolina in the summers. One woman served as mail carrier for a small mainland

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

464 562 197 463 community as well as domestic servant for the post office—a unique job combination which she handled with skill and grace. Increasingly, the job patterns of island women are associated with greater use of standard English than those of either island men or mainland women in the lower socio-economic group.

829 186 562 [121] A second factor which may influence both choice of language variety and choice of occupation is that of identification with island life. A more detailed attitudinal study is needed to describe the dimensions of this factor, but casual observation and conversation with young people gave some indication of its importance. In general, young males seemed to identify more strongly with island life than young females. Fifth-grade boys expressed some regret that a ferry would soon connect the island with the mainland, saying that the island wouldn't be the island anymore. All girls and women who expressed an opinion about it universally welcomed the easier access to the mainland that a ferry would bring. In one large family which had eleven children ranging from eight years to about twenty-four, the mother and father had a long-standing argument about the value of island life. The mother preferred the convenience of mainland living, while the father maintained that they could "have more" on the island, in terms of land and material goods, than they could have anywhere else. A son in his twenties maintained that he would want to raise his children

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

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there so that he could teach them the things he had learned, and expressed his belief that older siblings who had moved away would return in later years. A daughter in her late teens praised the island as a place to grow up, but said she would not ask her future husband to live there. Another brother spent long hours in the company of an aged step-grandfather, listening to his stories about the old days on the island. One young mother in another family spoke with feeling of her loneliness during the days she spent on the island with three pre-school children, when most other adults were away at jobs on the mainland. In general, the men on the island seemed to share in more communal activities than did the women. To the outside observer, island life seemed more difficult for women than for men. There was some indication that identification with island life increased with age, for both sexes. One older woman had lived for much of her married life near the metropolitan center of Charleston, returning to the island in later life. Another older man and his wife had spent some years living and working in New York City, returning to the island when his aged parents needed them. They were both leaders in community and church life on the island; their speech reflected their wide range of experience. In formal church speech events, both spoke and read language very close to standard; in their conversations with each other at home many creole features were used. At the close of the field work for the

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829 present study, a foster son of this couple returned from New
186 York after the father's death to live with his mother on the
562 island. Despite the difficult living conditions, the island remains a valued place to come home to for both middle aged and older adults. Those with the greatest degree of identification with island life seemed to be young men and older adults of both sexes.

5.2 Age of Speaker and Language Use

121 Age groups were selected on the basis of natural
56 groupings which existed in the island community itself.
484 Young people from the age of junior high school up to the early twenties formed a natural group which commuted daily to the mainland, and organized parties and dances on the island. Middle aged adults from about 30 to 50 had growing families of their own and commuted to mainland jobs daily. Older adults over 65 had either slowed down or quit entirely their mainland jobs and spent much of their time daily on the island itself; they, with a small group of pre-school children, constituted the day-time population of the island.
12 After it became apparent that a portion of the mainland popu-
56 lation differed in important respects from the island com-
184 munity, older adults from the lower socio-economic mainland
12 group were included in the study. Language used by these age
56 groups is compared in Table 6 above (see page 120). The
193 table also reflects the relationship between the social
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121 561 193 (184) factors of sex and age and the language used by a speaker. In the middle aged island group, Speakers 9 and 11 are married to each other; the wife uses no creole features, while the husband uses some for two grammatical categories. Speakers 13 and 15 in the younger age group are their daughter and son; the daughter uses creole and nonstandard forms only for the preposition, while the son uses some in every grammatical category. His overall use of such forms is higher than that of his father. Speaker 12 is the father of Speakers 14 and 16 in the young adult group. Again, the daughter uses no creole forms, while the son uses slightly more than his father in every category. By a slight margin, young island men use more creole and nonstandard forms than speakers in any other age group except older mainland women. Middle aged island speakers use fewest of such forms, chiefly due to the language patterns of women in this group, which exhibit almost none of these variants.

• 562 193 561 There is some indication that sex differences in the use of creole features may begin as early as seven or eight years for islanders. In narratives told by eight island children from the third through sixth grades in school, boys consistently used more creole and nonstandard variants than girls at their level. By fifth and sixth grades, island girls were using no creole forms in the three selected grammatical categories, while boys' use ranged from 14 percent to 100 percent in the pronominal category for the

562 stories the children told in recording sessions. The figures
193 obtained from these narratives were small and cannot be com-
561 pared with the data from the longer adult conversations, but they give some indication that sex differences in language use for islanders begin at an early age. In contrast, some of the most creolized utterances obtained in the study were from fifth grade girls and boys of the lower socio-economic mainland group. Mainland girls generally performed better in school than mainland boys in their group, but their language patterns in relaxed conversation were similar. These findings indicate that the factor of 'age-grading' discussed by linguists such as Stewart (1967) and Dillard (1972) operates in rural Georgetown County, and that creole forms may be preserved in the speech of younger children. For the two social groups under discussion here, however, the pattern of age-grading may be different for boys and girls in the island community.

121 5.3 Mobility of Speaker and Language Use

Discussions with Shirley Brice Heath, an anthropologist who has studied language and social relationships in a black urban community in upper South Carolina over a period of five or six years, indicated that geographic mobility might be an important factor in language use. In comparing
193 the experiences of children in the communities we were
369 studying, Heath observed that those children living in the

193 369 urban ghetto which was in sight of City Hall in the upstate community had traveled much less extensively than had the children in the isolated rural community of Georgetown County. The rural children, many of whom had lived for extended periods in northern cities, used far more creole forms in their speech than did urban children in the upcountry. Indications were that these rural children might command a wider range of language structures along the creole continuum than those in the more urban area. In asking about mobility patterns among adult speakers in the island community, I discovered that many, if not most, older men had lived off the island for extended periods of their lives and that most women had commuted off the island on a daily basis to mainland jobs for the past three or four decades. In the mainland community, similar patterns prevailed for men, while women were much less mobile and generally worked near or in their own immediate community. Furthermore, educational patterns for women were different in the two communities to a striking degree. Many mainland women in the older generation were illiterate, while some island women had gone away to college. Land ownership patterns on the island provided a measure of economic security which enabled islanders to help educate their daughters. For these educated island women, geographic mobility was associated with social mobility as well. None who had college educations now lived on the island; some were married to mainland businessmen and

484 464 • 562 [184] 562 891 184 [212] [423] 167 166 562 891

167 others lived in other states. For speakers whose social
166 situations are roughly similar in other respects, mobility
562 seems to affect language usage to some extent. Table 9
871 provides figures on degree of geographic mobility and use of creole and nonstandard forms for island and mainland speakers.

TABLE 7

167 MOBILITY PATTERNS AND PERCENTAGE OF CREOLE AND
166 NONSTANDARD VARIANTS
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		Speaker	% c/ns Variants	Mobility
MAINLAND	old	1f	68	0
		2f	78	0
		3m	35	3
		4m	32	3
ISLAND	old	5f	38	1
		6f	23	3
		7m	35	3
		8m	39	2
	middle	9f	0	2
		10f	8	3
		11m	15	3
		12m	31	2
	young	13f	33	0
		14f	0	1
		15m	52	0
		16m	42	1

Mobility:
0 - never lived or worked outside community
1 - worked daily outside community
2 - lived weekly or monthly outside community
3 - lived yearly outside community

f - female speaker
m - male speaker

562 484 464 184 Mobility patterns are different for men and women in the two communities. In the mainland community, men have been considerably more mobile than women. As previously mentioned, one older woman had spent her entire life working as a domestic servant for the owners of a single plantation. The other woman had a more varied employment record as a field laborer, as a cannery worker for a local seafood factory, and as a cook for a middle-class white family. She had never moved far from the sphere of a single plantation, however. Of the men, Speaker 3 in his early thirties had moved onto a plantation with the help of an uncle, and had remained there as a laborer for fifty years. Speaker 4 was the most widely traveled of this group, having received more formal education in his youth than either of the others. He had worked outside the region during a portion of his middle years, acquiring some skills and obtaining better jobs than [193] the other man. Women in this group use more creole and non-standard forms than men, a pattern which reflects both their lack of mobility and their limited occupational choices.

562 484 184 On the island, older men have been slightly more mobile than older women. Of the women, Speaker 5 has been less mobile than Speaker 6, who lived for a portion of her middle years off the island. Speaker 8 was the only island resident encountered who had never attended school and has [193] been less mobile than Speaker 7. These two men do not differ appreciably in their use of creole forms, however. For

562 484 184 193 older island residents, mobility does not seem to influence language use to any great extent, when comparing island residents with each other. When comparing island women and mainland women, however, the greater mobility of island women may well be related to their greater use of standard forms. Among middle aged men from the island, mobility seems to be a factor in the greater use of creole forms by Speaker 12, who refused to commute to a job which prohibits his return to the island nightly. His use of creole features is twice that of Speaker 11, who spent some years working in Washington, D. C. In the younger group, the woman who has been least mobile uses more creole features than Speaker 14, who clerks regularly in a mainland store. Similarly, the young man (Speaker 15) with least mobility reflects this in his speech, when compared with Speaker 16, who works as a waiter in a resort motel during the tourist season. Sex of speaker appears to outweigh degree of mobility as an influence on language use, but within sex, mobility seems to be a contributing factor.

169 Over and above language use, mobility is an important factor in the population patterns of rural Georgetown County. In a report on Population and Economy in the region encompassing the county, concern is expressed about the migration patterns of younger black residents to northern cities. During a twenty-year period from 1950 to 1970, 76.8 percent of black males and 72.6 percent of black females between

121 island women use standard forms categorically. Standard
193 forms for the complementizer are used categorically by a
178 more diverse group of speakers: all island men and women in
121 the middle aged group, young island women, one older main-
193 land man and one older island woman. Island men in the
178 oldest and youngest groups and mainland women in the oldest
184 group retain creole forms across all three grammatical categories. Figure 11 indicates which speakers are most resistant to change, according to sex, age, and community membership. Group I is moving most rapidly toward standard forms, while Group III is most resistant to change. Older island women and older mainland men are somewhere in between Group II and III, as indicated by the categorical use of standard forms for the complementizer by one speaker in each of these two groups.

121 In a small number of speakers, carefully matched for
19 sex, age, and social group, it has been possible to find
184 systematic linguistic variation for three morpho-syntactic
56 categories. The activation and progression of linguistic
• 562 change in these categories are related to the social factors of speaker sex, age, community, and mobility. Those in the forefront of change are young and middle aged women in the island community who have available to them, through occupational roles reserved to their sex, opportunities to participate in a variety of speech events in which standard English is used. Those most resistant to change are also women,

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I. Island women: young and middle aged

II. Island men: middle aged

(Island women: old)
(Mainland men: old)

III. Island men: young and old
Mainland women: old

Figure 11. Linguistic Change by Sex, Age, and Community

though of the older mainland group. Sharing their reluctance to change are older and younger island men, who have different occupational patterns and who may have stronger identification with island life than women. Again, as previous studies of sex-differentiated language use have noted, we find women occupying a paradoxical position in the process of language change. One group of women is strongly resistant to change, while another group is leading the community movement toward standard forms--both groups of women living in an isolated rural area and occupying similar social positions by conventional measures of social class. From my

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5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

121 19 178 562 perspective as a participant in community life, however, the life experiences of these groups of women have been different from each other and from those of men in their groups. Recent anthropological analyses have pointed out that men and women universally occupy different positions within their cultural and social groups (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Keenan, 1974). In these analyses, women are seen as outside the male-oriented norms of their social groups. Linguists have long understood that the interaction of language and social life has important consequences for linguistic behavior (see especially Ferguson, 1959 and Hymes, 1967, 1973). 121 562 19 If the two sexes have differentiated social roles within all societies, we must expect certain linguistic consequences to follow from the different life experiences of the two sexes. Men and women will speak differently from each other in every social group, but the ways and extent to which they differ can be expected to vary from social group to social group. Hymes (1973) has observed that inequality among speakers arises because some speakers participate in social situations not available to other speakers. To resolve the paradox of linguistically conservative and innovative women, the social situations open to women in their respective groups must be carefully examined. Focusing on women as members of social groups, we should not be surprised to find them represented at the extremes of linguistic conservatism or innovation, depending on the speech situations open to them as active participants in communal life.

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

000 them as active participants in communal life.

5.5 Conclusion

121 178 193 Language does not change in a vacuum. It changes as part of the life experiences of people who use it. Because language is inherently a shared process, those who use it share in determining the direction of change. The analysis of the linguistic variables presented here has shown that the direction of change in Gullah is all in the direction of the standard variety of English. Within each category, speakers show systematic variation which indicates that the meanings or uses most basic to the original creole variables are last to change toward the standard. The variant fE as pre-infinitival complementizer is retained longest for the introduction of purposive clauses. The pronoun es is retained longest to distinguish neuter subject from neuter object Ra, a distinction not made by standard it. The static-locative preposition to is retained for indications of spatial notions, while standard at is introduced for expression of temporal and figurative notions never expressed by the creole to. Although individual speakers show shared patterns of variation in their movement toward the standard, they make separate choices about the speed with which they move toward it. (562) Young and middle aged women in one community find it advantageous, probably for job-related reasons, to move faster toward the standard than any other segment of their speech

121 178 193 562 community. Older women in another community choose to resist change toward the standard longest of any speakers in the study. The social factors of sex, age, community membership, and geographic mobility have been shown to influence the activation of change. Sex is indicated as the most influential of these social factors, but its effect is different in the two social groups examined here.

121 178 193 The pattern of change exhibited in Gullah does not parallel that reflected in the history of English. For standard English, to is the original pre-infinitival complementizing particle and retains this function today. Originally introducing infinitival forms in variation with infinitival verb endings, to later shared this function with other particles such as at, til, and for. Although some of these forms are retained today in certain dialects of English, to has never lost its original complementizing function in the standard dialect. The status of for in this grammatical category for standard English is presently the subject of debate by synchronic and historical linguists; in some analyses it has become a complementizer in the base structure, while in other analyses it has retained its prepositional status throughout the history of English. By way of contrast, the particle fɛ in Gullah was the original complementizing particle, now being replaced by standard to. In the English pronominal system, the singular personal pronouns were marked for gender throughout the history of

861 "undone" house chores while girls were. Upkeep of the
562 house was clearly the female role. When you also consider
[462] that females more frequently reported that they were disciplined on an everytime ratio, role differences are again indicated.

It must be clearly understood that the difference in part may be attributable to the greater likelihood that the social behavior of female children would be committed in or close to the house, than would be the case for males. This suggests that the female asocial acts could be more readily noticed. In part, parents and elders in particular may just be more lient with male children. Certainly the "man chill" attitude is prevalent here. Since females outnumber males, a premium is placed on male children. Among island
[178] parents, tolerant attitudes toward males may also be a unique cultural reflection of an African habit.

184 In summation, there were few areas in which signifi-
86 cant differences exist across the islands. Islanders are quite agreed in their discipline attitudes. Much of the preceding discussion must be seen in the perceptive of broader level homogenity across the five islands. The most
[178] noticeable implication is that the isolation of the Sea Islands has to a large extent protected the cultural cohesiveness of the island community. Notions of the broad
[177] scale influence of the mainland elements on island

86 178 561 593 the island children. The parents themselves have been away from this habit for nearly as many years as they were engaged in it. Consequently, the stern disciplinary demands of the farm habit was not bei. : transferred to this generation of young islanders. In this light, the childhood histories of the elder parents was discussed. It was seen how the harsh work habits required in farming families demanded the obedient behavior of children. Under the burden of farm labor, parents were less tolerant of disobedience than parents are today. The reason given was again differences in occupation. It was also said that parents 86 184 living in isolated communities were apt to discipline children more quickly than parents who have jobs, because they spend time with their children. For the farming parents, the fatigue element was said to diminish their tolerance level, and that isolated households operate in an everytime reaction ratio. These religious beliefs were 771 861 introduced as elements which influence frequency and methods of discipline. Gullah Island parents, in this vain, strived to rear children under, and by guidance of the Bible. In 562 861 discussing the sex role differences, parents tend to more rigidly enforce discipline on female children. This relationship was explained along two lines. The first was the status that the male child has on the islands. Here a dominance of females places a premium upon male children.

6: Smith I,Y-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

562 86 [178] The notion that this attitude may be a reflection of an African habit was briefly mentioned. Because females tend to commit asocial acts within the family gap, this was offered in explanation of sex differences in disciplining. [578] Fighting was considered outside the female role, but a common behavior of males. The reason for fighting as a [177] more frequent behavior of males on James Island was explained in terms of the greater exposure of near islanders to mainland patterns.

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia
St. Simon's Island

764 [M75] [M78] [178] [M75]

seen on the island. Later he returned with three men to get his ox. This time the dog did not appear—but the cart went back empty.

In the Sapelo burying ground I have seen many evidences of the African custom of placing useful articles on the tops of graves. The Negroes generally say they are for ornamentation, but on Sapelo I was told that the alarm clocks—of which there were many—are for the purpose of waking the dead at Doomsday. At the Petersville graveyard, lamps and electric-light bulbs are as popular as cups and pitchers.

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Work also tells us in the above-mentioned article that "Among the Zulus, pottery is broken by the widow over the grave," [27] and René Maran, in *Batouala*, speaks of the same custom, specifying that the dead man's pots are placed upon his clothing. With his easy chair on top of everything, he is prepared for living the life of the dead. The pictures that accompany an article on "Fetishism in Congo Land" [28] by E. J. Glave, one of Stanley's pioneer officers, give positive proof of the origin of the custom. One, portraying the grave of a Congo Chieftain, shows the same type of decoration that is in use among our Southern rural Negroes. In addition, the author gives a picture of a distorted "charm root" which explains the use of eccentric wood growths in the decoration of the Negro graveyard at Sunbury. Headstones like the cement work found in the Sunbury yard, are a modern innovation. Mungo Park tells us that he "never observed that any stone was placed over the grave, as a monument or memorial." The noticeable lack of interest displayed by our Negroes in providing any sort of marker for their dead, other than a couple of stakes which soon disappear, may be accounted for in this way.

481 562 178 [M64]

The custom observed by the men, in walking apart from the women, to a baptism and to a "buryin'," is apparently based on an African tradition. Maran tells us: "It is not right to walk side by side. A custom as old as the Negro, dictated single file." To this day older members of the race walk single file—the men in front. In the old-time funeral processions the women and children followed the men, or else walked on the opposite side of the road—now they ride in automobiles. In many Negro churches, the men sit on the left side, the women on the right.[29]

[27] *Our Southern Indians made holes in the bottom of the pots they put in graves, so that the spirit of the pot could accompany the spirit of the dead man to the other world.*

[28] Century, April, 1891.

[29] *In the Friends Meeting I attended in my youth, the women sat on the left side of the meeting-house and the men on the right.*

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia
St. Simon's Island

always attended early mass. She never married; her sweetheart, Ishmael, belonged to another family, and his owners, thinking he would not be worth much to them in the field if his wife were on another plantation, encouraged a match with one of their own slaves.

To the end of her life, she smoked a pipe, and cooked her food in a black pot over a fire in the yard exactly as she had done in her youth. She must have been very strong, as she rowed a boat, did her half-acre of cotton, and, in her own words, "never knew what it was to be tired." She was a hundred and nine years old when she died in 1936, and evidently came of an exceptionally long-lived family, for her father was a centenarian, her sister lived to be a hundred and eight, and a cousin, also born in 1826, outlived her. Janey was straight and healthy to the last, and the sphinx-like, unwrinkled face in her coffin was like a piece of smooth black ebony. I had not realized in life how handsome she was or how Egyptian were her features. The inexpressible dignity of that dark mask so impressed me that I went back three times to make sure I would not forget it.

"BURYIN'"

Old residents of St. Simon's tell me that before the days of automobiles, when even horses [22] and wagons were luxuries, a Negro "buryin'" was an impressive affair. The mourners sang as they walked from the church, where the service was held, to the graveyard a mile away. The singers could be heard the minute they left the church, for at that time "they opened their mouths. They weren't like the young people today—too proud to sing." [23]

The home-made coffin, lined with "paper cambric" and covered with black calico or darkened with lampblack, was placed in the "rough box" and carried on a one-horse wagon. Only the preacher rode with the driver. The men walked single file on one side of the road and the women on the other.

When the minister could not come to the island for the church service, it was not held until his next visit—possibly in three weeks, sometimes in three months. In the days when "Reverend" Andrew Neal officiated, if he was urgently needed to

[22] After the War Between the States only a vicious stallion, belonging to the Coupers, was left on St. Simon's. It was necessary to hobble him before he could be used. There were plenty of ponies, called "tackies," living on the salt marshes; but Joe tells me they were wild, like deer, and it never paid to buy one.

[23] It was said of Adam and Neptun' Small and MacWilliams that they could be heard a mile —than which, according to slave standards, there was no higher praise.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

his wife's bones and take them to his house so that he could have 'he wit' me always."[24]

FAMILY LIFE

In their attempt to impress the sacredness of marriage upon their slaves, the whites were often discouraged by the low value which the slave women placed upon chastity. Wives were as prone as husbands to break the marriage vows. In fact, the female tended to be the dominant sex in slave life. It was decidedly to the advantage of a black man to have the good will of one of the women of the plantation, for life thereby was made much easier. On the plantations where clothes were issued by the yard, it was customary for the women to do the sewing for the family so that a husband was almost as dependent upon his wife for a new suit of clothes as he was upon his master; but, on the plantations where superannuated women were delegated to do all the plantation sewing and mending, the slave men were somewhat more independent of their women.

The weekly issuance of rations, a predominant portion of which was corn, was also dealt out in the bulk and must not only be shelled but pounded into grits before being cooked. It was customary for the women and children to assemble at the cornhouse on Monday, an hour or so before "fust dark," to receive the weekly allowance from the driver. Kneeling or sitting upon the ground with her children about her, each woman shelled the corn, using a cob to increase her speed. On some of the plantations there were improvised mortars for shelling corn, made of

[24] Information obtained from J. Swinton Whaley, Little Edisto, S. C., and from a personal interview with the Negro.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

her husband's pails which they took to the field with them for dinner.[28]

If the wife were frugal, she might have a portion of the weekly rations left when Monday came around again, and these she might either feed to her pigs and chickens or sell to the overseer or to an island storekeeper. The money was hers to use for the good of the family, but it was hers, nevertheless. It was the woman of the family who, with the aid of her children, worked most of the family patch, and it was usually the woman who marketed the produce and pocketed the money received in exchange.

The planters helped to make of woman the dominant sex in the family life of the slave by the position which they gave her in the plantation regime. The cabin was hers. The children, too, were listed on the plantation records as belonging to the mother. Seldom was the father's name indicated. Thus a person might go through life known as Binah's Toby or Moll's July. Likewise the mother had the privilege of naming the new baby unless she graciously yielded the right to its father or to a friend or relative. In this right she often exercised a singular taste, for one child might be called Jupiter, another Quash, a third January, and a fourth Hard Times.

Miss Towne was amused at the jealousy of their "natural rights" which the men on St. Helena Island began to show after that region had come under the jurisdiction of the Federal Army during the Civil War. "Political freedom they are rather shy of, and ignorant of," she

[28] Some planters, as it has already been pointed out, delegated plantation cooks to prepare the noon meal for the field hands so that they might have something hot to eat at this time. Some planters also allowed an hour's rest at nine o'clock for breakfast.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

wrote, "but domestic freedom—the right just found, to have their own way in their families and rule their wives—that is an inestimable privilege! In slavery the woman was far more important, and was in every way held higher than the man. Several speakers have been here who have advised the people to set the women in their proper place—never to tell them anything of their concerns, etc., etc.; and the notion of being bigger than women generally, is just now inflating the conceit of the males to an amazing degree. When women get the vote, too, no people will be more indignant than these, I suppose."[27]

The care of the children was divided between the mother and the plantation nurse, with the other children also doing their share of "minding child." When Captain Basil Hall visited a plantation near Charleston on his tour of the South in 1828 he found the mothers in the field at their work and "a sober old matron in charge of the three dozen shining urchins, collected together in a house near the center of the village. Over the fire hung a large pot of hominy, a preparation of Indian corn, making ready for the little folks' supper, and a very merry, happy-looking party they seemed."[28] At all other times, the children were in the mother's care. It was not an uncommon sight to see a woman going about her home work with an infant tied securely to her back.

Parents were severe in the discipline of their children, for they did not want their offspring to grow up to be "no-manners." They taught them to curtesy when approached by a white person and to hold out their hands to

[27] *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne*, p. 184.
[28] Hall, *Travels in North America*, II, 210; *supra*, pp. 97-98.